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Working Conditions for Catholic Teachers in the Archdiocese of Glasgow in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

Abstract: The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918 is considered to be a key point in the process towards full state funding for the Catholic schools in Scotland. There has been important research undertaken into the political and ecclesial negotiations that led to the Act and into the conditions of the Act that preserved the denominational identity of the Catholic schools. This article examines the working conditions of Catholic teachers leading up to the Act. This article focuses on a number of themes primarily in relation to the Archdiocese of Glasgow: the school accommodation and roll and class sizes, the impact of disease, sickness and death, the working conditions for pupil-teachers and, the major focus of the article, the remuneration for Catholic teachers.

Keywords: Catholic Teachers, Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, Working Conditions Catholic Schools, Pupil-Teachers, Archdiocese of Glasgow

Introduction

This article will examine some of the challenges faced by Catholic teachers in their working conditions in the Archdiocese of Glasgow in the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century. The period covered will be primarily focussed on the period between the two Acts: The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 and the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. Previous studies have explored different aspects of the importance of these two Acts and the relationship between the two Acts. Skinnider (1967), Kenneth (1968), Darragh (1990), and O'Hagan and Davis (2007) have analysed the political and ecclesial negotiations that resulted in the renewed and enhanced opportunity for voluntary and denominational schools to be incorporated into the state system of publicly funded school education under the conditions of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918.¹ These were conditions that allowed Catholic schools to retain their denominational status, their own distinctive religious education and the right of the Church to approve Catholic teachers in regards to their religious belief and character. Gourlay (1990), Treble (1980), Bain (2011) and, more recently, McHugh (2019) have examined the ways in which the conditions of the 1918 Act, and the interpretation of these conditions, subsequently affected Catholic schooling or aspects of Catholic schooling.² Treble (1978) and to a lesser extent Ross (1978) have located the two Acts, especially the 1918 Act and the consequences

¹ Sr Martha Skinnider SND, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow, 1818-1918', in *Studies in the History of Scottish Education 1872-1939*, ed. Thomas R. Bone (London, 1967), 13-70. Br. Kenneth F.M.S, 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in the making', *Innes Review* 19 (2) (1968), 91-128. James Darragh, 'The Apostolic Visitations of Scotland, 1912 and 1917', *Innes Review* 41 (1) (1990), 7-118. Francis J. O'Hagan and Robert A. Davis, 'Forging the Compact of church and state in the development of Catholic Education in late nineteenth-century Scotland', *The Innes Review*, 58 (1) (2007), 72-94.

² Teresa Gourlay, 'Catholic Schooling in Scotland since 1918', *The Innes Review* 41 (1) (1990), 119-131. James H. Treble, 'The Working of the 1918 Education Act in Glasgow Archdiocese', *Innes Review* 31 (1) (1980), 27-44. Andrew Bain, 'The Significance of the Bonnybridge School Case of 1922-1929 for Catholic education in Scotland', *Innes Review* 62 (1) (2011), 70-81. Mary McHugh, 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, Revisited: The Act and its Legal Implications', in *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, eds. Stephen J. McKinney and Raymond McCluskey (London, 2019), 175-199.

of this Act, within the growth and development of the Catholic community in Scotland.³ An increasing number of scholars have undertaken research on the contribution of the male and female religious orders and congregations to Catholic schooling, especially secondary schooling: Dilworth (1978), Fitzpatrick (1998), O'Hagan (2006), Kehoe (2010) and O'Donoghue (2019)⁴

This article will focus on a number of themes that had an impact on the working lives and conditions of teachers in Catholic schools. The first themes to be addressed will be the overcrowding in some classrooms, the relation between school accommodation and roll and the irregular pupil attendance at school. The irregular attendance was often caused by the poverty of the Catholic families. The next theme will be the prevalence of sickness and disease that affected the teachers and the children and sometimes resulted in mortalities. This will be followed by a concise account of the challenging working conditions experienced by the Pupil-Teachers. The major theme of the article is that of the remuneration of Catholic teachers and the pay differential between the teachers in the Catholic schools and in the Board schools. This theme has a number of strands. There was a pay differential between male and female teachers that existed in both Catholic schools and Board schools. The article will explore the debates around a fairer remuneration for the Catholic teachers; debates that were sometimes conflated with the ongoing debates about Catholic schools receiving their share of the money from the rates. The article highlights documentary evidence of the tensions between the teachers and the school managers (and the hierarchy) concerning the rates of salary. There were further tensions surrounding the settlement of the war bonus for Catholic teachers and the late payment of the fourth instalment of the war bonus. The article concludes by discussing the settlement of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, the introduction of minimum salary scales in 1919 and the establishment of standard scales in 1945.

School accommodation and Size of classes

Stewart argues that teaching in a Catholic school was often an 'extremely arduous occupation' in the late nineteenth century and describes the working conditions:

it involved responsibility for pupil-teachers as well as children. Long hours, huge classes, noise, smell, problems associated with heating, lighting or ventilation, irregular attendance – all contributed to throat and chest complaints, and quite often, physical and emotional exhaustion.⁵

There are three issues related to the numbers of children in the Catholic schools. First, the number of pupils that occupied a particular classroom. Second, the match or mismatch between

³ James H. Treble, 'The Development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland 1878-1978', *Innes Review*, 29 (2) (1978), 111-139. Anthony Ross OP, 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878-1978', *Innes Review* 29 (1) (1978), 30-55.

⁴ Mark Dilworth, 'Religious Orders in Scotland, 1878-1978', *The Innes Review* 29 (1) (1978), 92-109. Thomas A. Fitzpatrick, (1998) 'The Marist Brothers in Scotland before 1918', *The Innes Review* 49 (1) (1998), 1-10. Francis J. O'Hagan, *The Contribution of Catholic Orders to Education in Glasgow 1847-1918* (Edwin Mellen Press Ltd, 2006). Carly S. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (Manchester, 2010). Thomas O'Donoghue, 'The Role of the Male Religious Orders in Education in Scotland in the Decades Leading up to the Education (Scotland) act, 1918', in *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland*, eds. Stephen J. McKinney, S. J. and Raymond McCluskey, London, 2019), 81-102.

⁵ Ian Stewart, 'Teacher Careers and the Early Catholic Schools in Edinburgh', *Innes Review* 46 (1) (1995), 52-66 (at 65).

the accommodation that was available in the school and the school roll. Third, the ratio of teachers to pupils in the school. The huge classes continued into the twentieth century in some places. There were an estimated 41,430 pupils in Catholic schools in Scotland by 1891, increasing to an estimated 58,872 pupils in 1901.⁶ There are reports of classes containing over a hundred pupils in St. Alphonsus, St Andrew's, St. Francis and St John's primary schools in Glasgow in 1901.⁷

There were examples of the roll in Catholic schools exceeding the available accommodation. The number of children on the register of one third of the Catholic schools in Lanarkshire in 1918-1919 exceeded the recognised available accommodation in the schools.⁸ This was not confined to Lanarkshire and in 1918-1919 there was the potential for overcrowding in a number of primary schools in Glasgow.⁹ The roll of the following schools exceeded the accommodation: St Andrew's Infant School, St. Mary's boy's school, St Mary's girl's school, Sacred Heart Infants school, St. Michael's mixed school, St. Saviour's mixed school, St Luke's Infants school, St. Roch's mixed school and Shettleston mixed school. Outside the city there was a similar situation in Dalmuir mixed school, Duntocher mixed school and Greenock (St Lawrence's girls and the Infant school). The figures for average attendance for most of these schools, however, indicates that the number of children in attendance in the primary schools was unlikely to exceed the accommodation. The figures for the small number of Higher Grade and Convent Schools in 1919-1920 indicate two examples of potential overcrowding. Bothwell Convent day school and the Higher grade school had a combined accommodation for 100, a combined roll of 109 and there were 107 present at the religious examination. St. Mary's Greenock mixed Higher Grade school had accommodation for 200 pupils, a roll of 204 and there were 170 pupils present at the religious examination.¹⁰ The differential in the ratio between teachers and pupils in state schools and Catholic schools could be quite marked. In Lanarkshire in 1918-1919, the differential was one certificated teacher for 40.96 pupils in the state schools and one certificated teacher for 61.12 pupils in the Catholic sector.¹¹

The attendance was irregular because of the poverty of many of the Catholic families.¹² This was manifested in a number of ways: some of the children worked to help to support the family; some of the children lacked adequate shoes and clothing and were unable to attend school in difficult weather conditions, especially in the winter months.¹³ A survey of the entries in the school log (1869-1918) of St. Margaret's, the first Catholic school in Ayr, provides some good examples of the impact of poverty on school attendance.¹⁴ Cold, wet and windy weather

⁶ James Darragh, 'The Catholic Population of Scotland 1878-1977', *Innes Review* 29 (2) (1978), 211-247.

⁷ Sr Martha Skinnider SND, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow, 1818-1918', 34.

⁸ James H. Treble, 'The Development of Roman Catholic Education', 125.

⁹ Archdiocese of Glasgow. Report of the Religious Examination of Schools 1918-1919. Glasgow Archdiocese Archive (GAA) ED8/1/9.

¹⁰ The accommodation in St. Mary's Greenock increased to 470 by 1926-1927, the roll increased to 446 and the attendance at the religious examination was 415. GAA ED8/1/6.

¹¹ James H. Treble, 'The Working of the 1918 Education Act', 41.

¹² It can be added that this the impact of poverty on schooling was not restricted to the Catholic community but was a wider problem for schooling in Scotland. Jane McDermid, 'Catholic working-class girls' education in Lowland Scotland, 1872-1900', *Innes Review* 47 (1) (1996), 69-80 (at 74).

¹³ Sr Martha Skinnider SND, 'Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow, 1818-1918', 33. See Stephen J. McKinney, 'Catholic schools in Glasgow and caring for the needs of those who are poor', in *Vatican II and New Thinking about Catholic Education*, ed. Sean Whittle (London, 2017), 96-112.

¹⁴ James McGloin, 'Catholic Education in Ayr 1823-1918 Part 1', *Innes Review* 13 (1) (1962a), 77-103. James McGloin, 'Catholic Education in Ayr 1823-1918 Part 2', *Innes Review* 13 (2) (1962b), 190-216. McGloin (1962a) has difficulty tracing the exact date of the opening of the school. He references *The Catholic Directory* of 1857 which notes that the schools that were lately erected were in operation, 88.

prevents ‘poorly clad scholars from attending’ on very regular occasions.¹⁵ In 1869, for example, there are few scholars in attendance because of the stormy weather on July the 12^h and attendance is ‘bad because of bad weather’ on Oct 14th. The attendance is very poor on December 1st because of the cold weather (and the prevalence of scarlet fever).¹⁶ The school had a number of strategies to support these children and it is noted that in February 1895 and November 1910, boots and clothing are distributed among the poorer children and in December 1897 boots are distributed to encourage them to attend regularly.¹⁷ The Saint Vincent De Paul Society and the Parochial Board paid the fees of some of the poor children to support them.¹⁸ Free school dinners were introduced during the winter months to entice the poorer children to attend school more regularly. This occurred in other parts of the West of Scotland and, notably, in the East End of Glasgow. The main object in the founding of Celtic Football Club was to financially support the St. Vincent De Paul Society in providing ‘dinner tables’ for the needy children in St. Mary’s, St. Michael’s and Sacred Heart primary schools in the east end of Glasgow.¹⁹ Schools would also respond to new situations that would impact on the children. In Waterside, in Ayrshire, the Sisters of the Cross and Passion who ran the local Catholic school set up a soup kitchen for the children during the miners’ strike in 1921.²⁰

The impact of Disease, Sickness and Death

There were frequent bouts of sickness and disease that affected attendance in schools. A combination of overcrowded living conditions, lack of proper sanitation, poor diet and malnourishment contributed to the spread of infectious diseases, especially in the larger industrialised urban areas.²¹ The over-crowded and poorly ventilated classrooms described by Stewart meant that sickness and disease could spread easily and quickly in the school. Handley states that ‘defective ventilation was almost universal’ in late nineteenth century Catholic schools and there was a lack of cleanliness in the pupil population.²² There are reports in St. Margaret’s of whooping cough (kink hoast) in March 1884 and November 1889. A large number of the children suffered from scarlet fever in 1869 and from measles in September 1893 and May 1908. Unspecified illnesses caused many children to be absent in January 1876, May 1877 and December 1882 and unspecified infectious diseases in October 1899.²³ Some of the diseases prevalent in this era could have serious consequences for both the pupils and the teachers.²⁴ In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Whooping cough, or pertussis,

¹⁵ James McGloin, ‘Catholic Education in Ayr 1823-1918 Part 1’, James McGloin, ‘Catholic Education in Ayr 1823-1918 Part 2’, There were other reasons for poor attendance at this school: the horse races, the cattle show and ‘Flitting Day’. 99, 101, 195.

¹⁶ James McGloin, ‘Catholic Education in Ayr 1823-1918 Part 1’, 92.

¹⁷ It is also noted in December 5th, 1910 that, for the first time, the local school Board has made grants of clothing and boots to the poorer children.

¹⁸ James E. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork, 1947). It was common practice for the parish St. Vincent De Paul Society to pay the costs of the poorer pupils in Catholic schools. 212.

¹⁹ James E. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 227-228. This came to an end with the introduction of professionalism into football in 1893.

²⁰ Sr Dominic Savio (Hamer) CP, ‘The Sisters of the Cross and Passion: a religious order for the poor, 1852-2002’, *Innes Review* 54 (1) (2003), 79-102.

²¹ Neil MacGillivray, *Food, Poverty and Epidemic Disease, Edinburgh: 1840-1850*. (unpublished PhD Thesis, The University of Edinburgh 2003).

²² James E. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 211-213.

²³ There were a few cases of whooping cough, scarletina and chickenpox reported in September 1893 before a serious outbreak of measles. James McGloin, ‘Catholic Education in Ayr 1823-1918 Part 2’, 200.

²⁴ Kehoe comments on the typhus epidemic in 1847 and the waves of cholera in Glasgow in the mid-nineteenth century and the work of religious sisters. The main aim of the Sisters of Mercy and the Franciscan Sisters was school education for females, but they were drawn into informal nursing for the needs of the Catholic community. The Sisters of Mercy had experience of working with cholera victims in Ireland and the Franciscans

was deemed to be ‘one of the major causes of childhood mortality’.²⁵ Scarlet fever, a streptococcal disease sometimes known as *rossalia*, was also a major cause of mortality and young children with scarlet fever were often isolated in hospitals to prevent the spread of the infection.²⁶ In St. Margaret’s in Ayr, a teacher was forbidden to come to school in November 1869 because her brother had the fever.²⁷ In October 1888, the children from the barracks were ordered not to go to school because of scarlet fever in the town. Measles was another cause of infant and child mortality and there could be serious epidemics.²⁸ St Margaret’s was closed by order of the Medical authorities from 25th of September till October 16th in 1893 due to an outbreak of measles. The school was also closed from October 17th to 29th in 1918 because of influenza. Mortality affected daily life in the school. One of the children and one of the teachers die of Scarlet Fever in late 1869. It is reported that another teacher (a pupil-teacher) dies of fever in May 1877.

Pupil-Teachers

It is important to include the pupil-teachers in the account of working conditions for Catholic teachers. The Catholic school managers in Scotland struggled to acquire enough certificated teachers for their schools. This would only begin to ease with the opening of Notre Dame in 1895.²⁹ The managers often relied heavily on the pupil-teacher system to support Catholic schools.³⁰ The working life of the pupil teacher was, in many cases even more arduous than that of the classroom teacher. Wilson is highly critical of the pupil-teacher system, arguing that it was ‘badly conceived’.³¹ The young people were expected to negotiate two challenging and intense activities at the same time: teaching and studying for examinations. The pupil-teacher often taught throughout the school day and was expected to prepare lessons in the evening after school. There was an added pressure in that they also had to study in preparation for the Queen’s Scholarship examination or leaving Certificate.³² In some places there were night classes to attend and in Glasgow there were talks on lessons and methods on a Saturday

were responding to the situation. Karly S. Kehoe, K. ‘Nursing the Mission: The Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception and the Sisters of Mercy in Glasgow, 1847-1866’, *The Innes Review* 56 (1) (2005), 46-60.

²⁵ E. Kuchar, M. Karlikowska-Swarnik, S. Han, A. Nitsch-Osuch, ‘Pertussis: History of the Disease and Current Prevention Failure’, in *Pulmonary Dysfunction and Disease. Advances in Experimental Medicine and Biology*, ed. M. Pokorski (Vol 934. Springer, 2016), 77-82.

https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007%2F5584_2016_21

Carolyn G. Shapiro-Shapin, ‘Pearl Kendrick, Grace Eldering, and the Pertussis Vaccine’, *Emerging Infectious Diseases*. 16 (8) (2010), 1273-1278. Shapiro-Shapin notes that there would be no vaccine available till the 1930s.

²⁶ Sarah Marshall, ‘Scarlet fever: the disease in the UK’. *The Pharmaceutical Journal*, 21 July 2006.

Joseph Ferretti and Werner Kohler, ‘History of Streptococcal Research’, in *Streptococcus Pyogenes: Basic biology to Clinical Manifestation*, eds. Joseph Ferretti, D L Stevens and VA Fischetti (Oklahoma City, 2016).

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK333430/>

²⁷ James McGloin, ‘Catholic Education in Ayr 1823-1918 Part 1’, 92.

²⁸ Michael Anderson, *Scotland’s Populations from the 1850s to Today* (Oxford, 2018), 357. Leen Khader Tannous, Gavin Barlow and Neil H. Metcalfe, ‘A short Clinical review of vaccination against measles’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine Open* 5 (4) (2014). Measles vaccines were introduced in the early 1960s.

²⁹ Thomas A. Fitzpatrick, ‘Scottish Catholic Teacher Education: The Wider Context’, *The Innes Review* 45 (2) (1994), 147-170.

³⁰ James H. Treble, ‘The Working of the 1918 Education Act’, 29.

Jane McDermid, ‘Catholic Women Teachers and Scottish Education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries’, *History of Education* 38 (5) (2009), 605-620 (at 609).

³¹ John D. Wilson, ‘The Junior Students System’, in *Studies in the History of Scottish Education 1872-1939*, ed. Thomas R. Bone (London, 1967), 191-242 (at 195-199).

³² Wilson points out that the decrease in the class sizes after 1900 and the greater accountability expected of the individual teachers meant that the pupil-teacher system had disappeared in many areas of Scotland by 1905.

morning. The enormous pressures on these young people leads Wilson to conclude that it is hardly surprising that many of the Pupil-teachers performed poorly in the examinations.

The Remuneration for Catholic Teachers (1): Disparity between male and female teachers

The demand for a fair and just remuneration by Catholic teachers was a source of tension between teachers and school managers up to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. Before discussing these demands and the tensions it is necessary to highlight the discriminatory wage differential between men and women in Catholic schools and Board schools. McCall offers an analysis of some of the reasons for the pay differential between men and women.³³ There were more women than men in nineteenth century Scotland and around a third of the women never married. Teaching was a very viable option and offered some form of social mobility and status, even though the smaller number of male teachers occupied a significant number of the promoted posts. The pay differential may partly be explained by a presumption that men required more money to support a wife and family. However, many single women teachers supported elderly parents and possibly nieces and nephews who had been orphaned. Further, widowed teachers were responsible for the support of their children. Perhaps a more pertinent reason for the differential was that it was designed to attract male teachers and acquire a greater complement of male teachers in the workforce.

The Remuneration for Catholic Teachers (2): Demands for a fair share of the rates

The examination of the remuneration for the Catholic teachers has to be located in the context of the funding of the Catholic schools which was a major challenge as there was no support from the rates.³⁴ This was a major cause for concern and was perceived to be unjust and to seriously limit, if not debilitate, the development and quality of Catholic schools and a fair remuneration for Catholic teachers. Darragh provides an estimate of the rates paid by Catholics towards education from the 1872 Act to 1911. The figure is £1.5 million. This was approximately worth £65.5 million in 1989 as reported by Darragh, and approximately worth £170 million in 2020.³⁵ There were some sources of funding and the system of payment by results was introduced in 1862 by the Committee of the Privy Council of Education.³⁶ This payment was awarded to school managers calculated on the number of pupils, the record of attendance and the performance in the annual inspection.³⁷ Anderson notes that most of the grant was dependent on the tests in reading, writing and arithmetic. A series of protests about the conditions of the grant delayed the introduction of the Revised Code in Scotland till 1873.³⁸ It was paid between 1873 till 1890 and then between 1890 and 1899 in a revised form according to the success of classes rather than individuals. After 1899 it was paid according to attendance figures.

The retention of the Catholic teachers was a major issue because of the working conditions outlined above and also because they were usually paid at a lower rate than the teachers in the Board schools. There are a number of references in the academic literature to the inadequacies

³³ Alison Taylor McCall, 'The Lass O' Pairts. Social Mobility for women through education in Scotland, 1850-1901'. (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Dundee, 2013).

³⁴ Br. Kenneth F.M.S, 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in the making', 92.

³⁵ James Darragh, 'The Apostolic Visitations of Scotland, 1912 and 1917', 30. The author has derived the approximate figure from the calculation of £1.5 million translated from 1911 values to 2020 values and adjusting for lower values in years between 1872 and 1911.

³⁶ Sandy Lesley Hunter, *The Scottish Educational System* (Oxford, 1972), 19.

³⁷ Robert D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* (Oxford, 1995), 57.

³⁸ Sandy Lesley Hunter, *The Scottish Educational System*, 19.

of the salaries for teachers in Catholic schools prior to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. The salaries of Catholic teachers are usually compared unfavourably to the salaries that were available in the Board Schools after the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. Treble points out that in 1917 there was a serious disparity in the average salary rates in Catholic elementary schools in Glasgow.³⁹ The average salary for an Assistant Master in a Board school was £154 12s 0d. The average salary for an Assistant Master in a Catholic school was £94 1s 6d. Br Kenneth comments that the teachers in Catholic schools worked for a 'bare livelihood'.⁴⁰

The disparity between salaries paid in Catholic schools and the Board schools created tensions between the teachers and the managers of the Catholic schools. The Archbishop of Glasgow discussed the salaries for Catholic teachers when he delivered a lengthy speech to the Catholic teachers of the Archdiocese in St. John's school, Glasgow, on the 26th January 1889.⁴¹ He begins his address by praising the Catholic teachers for their role in the Church:

In the first place, I should like to point out to our teachers the dignity and the privilege of the position of a teacher, to have the care of those children who have lately come from the hands of God, and to take charge of those whose sole training has been at the knees of their mothers, and to share with the clergy the duty of fitting them for a future career in life. If your work is a task it is also a privilege. After the priest in the parish, the teacher occupies the highest dignity in the mission...⁴²

As he continues with his address, he argues that the salaries available to Catholic teachers reflect the resources available to the school managers.

Now, on the peculiar aspects of the teachers' position I do not propose to say anything to you beyond stating that the salaries of the teachers are now as large as can be afforded from our slender resources...

He further argues that the salaries have improved:

However, the salaries of teachers have improved, and they now receive as much as the managers can afford to give them, and when we receive our share of school rates there will be a fitting opportunity of deciding how far teachers may derive any advantage from the improved state of things.

The main solution he offers for a more just remuneration is a campaign for a share of the rates for Catholic schools. He discusses the campaign to secure a share and encourages the teachers to participate in these debates:

Your duty then is to continue and supplement and improve upon the position we have attained, and to leave no stone unturned in advancing and extending our schools, and raising our voices at all times and in all places, in vindication of our claim for a fair share of the rates.

³⁹ James H. Treble, 'The Development of Roman Catholic Education', 119.

⁴⁰ Br. Kenneth F.M.S., 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in the making', 92.

⁴¹ GAA ED28/1/4.

⁴² The Archbishop reprises the praise of the teachers near the end of his address:

We have now, however, large and good and cheerful schools, and a very efficient body of teachers, and every Catholic child can receive a most excellent training for the battle of life. This happy result has been achieved by the ability of the teachers, promoted and guided by the school managers.

He also adds that when the share of the rates is granted to Catholic schools, then the Archdiocese can explore the issue of pensions for Catholic teachers, another topic that was being debated.⁴³

The pressure to obtain a share of the rates would continue and is highlighted in a letter from Archbishop Eyre on the 25th September at the time of the General Election 1900. The letter was to be read out at the principal mass of the churches of the Archdiocese of Glasgow on Sunday Thirtieth of September 1900.⁴⁴ The purpose of the letter was to call for two urgent reforms to be addressed by the new Parliament. The first was a University for the Catholics in Ireland. The second was an equal financial position for the Catholic schools in Scotland:

Rev Dear Sir.

The raising of our own Elementary schools to an equal financial position with that of the Schools which are under the management of the School Boards, so that we may have what our neighbours have. All schools in Scotland are, as is well known, denominational. But while Presbyterian denominational schools are entirely supported by the Government grants and local rates, our Schools receive no help from the rates, though Catholics have to bear their share of paying them. This arrangement is a denial to us of our rights as citizens and ratepayers. It is also a departure from the understanding on which government by majority is based, viz: that the claims of minorities be respected.

The Archbishop recommends that the Catholic people raise the two issues of a (1) University for Catholics in Ireland with their Parliamentary candidates and (2):

Provision for granting to the Schools of the Catholic minority in Scotland the same support from the rates as is granted to the Schools of the Protestant minority.

Such measures are not only to be desired by Catholics but should be favoured by all who have at heart those higher interests of the whole country that are far above mere party questions. Every man who aims at peace and unity among his fellow-citizens should be anxious to remove grievances and to protect rights. He should therefore be anxious to put an end to the injustice by which in Ireland a minority enjoys privileges denied to the majority, and in Scotland a majority denies to the minority equality of treatment.

The Archbishop states that all schools in Scotland are denominational. Under the conditions of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, the Board schools are technically 'public' schools that are non-denominational. Any parish school or Burgh school that came under the management of a school board became a public school.⁴⁵ The Church of Scotland and the Free Church had transferred the majority of their schools to the school Boards.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the Church of

⁴³ He also suggests that the teachers may form an Association and by contributing small subscriptions be able to 'provide what may be required in certain cases'.

⁴⁴ GAA ED28/10/15.

⁴⁵ Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. Section 25.

⁴⁶ The nuance is that the two churches did not transfer all of their schools. Robert D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* provides a table on pages 308-309 that indicates that there were five Church of

Scotland retained considerable influence with the presence of their clergymen on the school Boards and their continued involvement in Teacher Training Colleges until 1907.⁴⁷

Teachers Associations and other Catholic groups discussed the issue of the salaries for Catholic teachers repeatedly and were in communication with the Hierarchy and the Archdiocese. The United Irish League of Great Britain Teachers' Branch sent a letter to Most Rev John Maguire DD on the sixth of September 1917 signed by the Secretary Thomas A. McKirdy that included a resolution of the branch dated 25 August 1917.⁴⁸ This supported the demand for a share of the rates:

This meeting is of the opinion that the present system of education and local rating penalises Catholics because of their faith, and demands, in the interest of education, that all citizens and their children be secured in law perfect equality in educational matters.⁴⁹

The branch supports the idea of new legislation that ensures equal rights for Catholic schools, but adds:

And if the legal abstraction of money from the Catholic ratepayers for the upkeep of schools they take no advantage of, is to continue, that the voluntary schools be given some compensating advantage by Act of Parliament.

In conjunction with the concern, shared with the school managers and the Archbishop, to secure funding from the rates for Catholic schools, the Catholic teachers also actively sought an increase in salary from the school managers.

The Remuneration for Catholic Teachers (3): Lobbying the Archdiocese of Glasgow

There were a number of recorded attempts to lobby the Archdiocese for an increase in the salaries for Catholic teachers in 1910, 1914 and 1918. The Glasgow and West of Scotland Catholic Class Teachers' Association wrote to the Most Rev Canon on December the sixth 1910 in a letter signed by the Secretary Thomas Gillies.⁵⁰ They note the recent statements in the press:

As statements have appeared in the public press lately to the effect that representations have been made to the managers of the Catholic schools by the School Board of Glasgow, with a view to the transference of these schools to the local education authority...

At this point in time, Monsignor Mackintosh had been engaged in negotiations with the Glasgow School Board about the possible transfer of the Catholic schools.⁵¹ There were issues concerning the management of the schools and the access for priests for supervising

Scotland schools and one free Church school remaining in 1917 in the lead up to the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918.

⁴⁷ John Stevenson, *Fulfilling a Vision. The Contribution of the Church of Scotland to School Education, 1772-1872* (Eugene, Oregon, 2012).

⁴⁸ GAA ED28/6/2.

⁴⁹ GAA ED/28/6/1.

⁵⁰ GAA ED28/8/8.

⁵¹ Br. Kenneth F.M.S., 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in the making', 97-98.

religious instruction that were proving to be obstacles to progress in the negotiations. The Association registers their hope that any possible arrangement will be beneficial to Catholic teachers. The Canon was asked to ‘respectfully urge’ the ‘influence of the Catholic managers’ to see that Catholic Teachers:

...are placed on the same footing as regards salary and promotion as the Teachers at present employed by the Board.

The discussions between Monsignor Mackintosh and the Glasgow School Board ended in January 1911 and the issue of parity in salary remained unresolved at that time.⁵²

The officer bearers of the Scottish Catholic Teachers’ Federation wrote to the Right Reverend Monsignor in June twenty-fifth in 1914. They reported the disappointment and acute discontent among Catholic teachers about the levels of salary:⁵³

Whilst thanking the Managers for the attention they are giving to the teachers’ claims we would also beg to say that the recent decisions of the Managers were received with great disappointment by Catholic teachers throughout Scotland.

The National Council, on behalf of the teachers hopes that it is still possible for the Managers even under existing conditions, to effect considerable improvement in the matter of salary, and at the same time to allay for years to come, the acute discontent amongst teachers in every part of Scotland.

The office bearers of the Federation offered a solution and proposed a three-part strategy that would ensure an increase of at least 20% for every Catholic teacher:

1. That a Central Fund for Catholic Education purposes be organised and controlled by a Central Committee of the Managers.
2. That all funds available (at present) for the purposes of education be deposited into the Central Fund, so that the whole might be for redistributed according to the needs of the district or mission, And
3. That a levy of one farthing per week per head of the Catholic population be imposed, so as to bring the voluntary contribution up to £60,000 per annum instead of £30,000 (roughly) for the whole of Scotland as at present (1913 returns).

The adoption of the first and second would ensure that the richer missions would help the poorer, whilst the third proposal if adopted, would enable the Managers to increase the salary of every Catholic teacher in Scotland, by at least twenty per cent⁵⁴

The Federation notes the great hardships being inflicted on the Catholic teachers under the current salary conditions.

⁵² For a fuller account of these negotiations between Monsignor Mackintosh and Glasgow School Board see Sr Martha Skinnider SND, ‘Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow, 1818-1918’, 45-48.

⁵³ GAA ED28/2/1.

⁵⁴ GAA ED28/2/1.

The Glasgow and West of Scotland Catholic Teachers' Association instructed William Moore, the secretary, to send a letter to the Most Reverend John a Maguire DD on the 15th of June 1918.⁵⁵

I am instructed by the Council of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Catholic Teachers' Association to ask Your Grace to ordain that the Reverend Managers shall raise the salaries of all teachers by £20 per annum.

moreover such an increase will so bring our salaries up to the purchasing power of our pre-war salaries which at no time could have been considered a living wage.

This request was one of the final requests before the 1918 Act.

The Remuneration for Catholic Teachers (4): The impact of the First World War and the War bonus

There was also a series of discussions about the payment of the war bonus to Catholic teachers. The Archdiocese reported that the agreement was reached on the 27 March 1917.⁵⁶ The war bonus would be paid to current teachers, teachers on sick leave and teachers recently returned to the profession. The agreement was that the war bonus was to be paid according to a scale. Teachers who were earning less than £110 would be awarded £10. Teachers who were earning less than £160 would be awarded £8. The proposed arrangement for those who earned £160 and more was that they could be awarded a bonus at the discretion of the school manager, but the bonus could be no more than £8. The war bonus was to be paid quarterly and was to take effect from the first of January 1917. The first quarter was to be paid on the 31st March 1917.

There was a very quick response from the Glasgow and West of Scotland Catholic Teachers' Association in a letter to Archbishop Maguire dated 28 of March 1917.⁵⁷ The Association stated that the members did not consider the offer to be adequate and requested that the school managers reconsider their decision. The Association considered the offer to be inadequate in two ways. First, the bonus should be retrospective and be operated from the 1st of July 1916. Second, the war bonus should be a standard award paid to all teachers and should not be related to salaries. The Association made it clear that the bonus would not be accepted until these two points had been considered. Later the war bonus was accepted under the original conditions as laid down in the original offer.⁵⁸ When the Association wrote to the Archbishop to accept the war bonus, they noted that the agreement to accept was unanimous. This action caused some internal dispute within the Association.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ GAA ED28/5/3.

⁵⁶ GAA/ED28/6/3.

⁵⁷ GAA/ED28/4/1.

⁵⁸ GAA ED28/4/2.

⁵⁹ There was a two-page leaflet printed in 1917 that was prompted by a strong opposition to a particular resolution that was carried by the Glasgow and West of Scotland Catholic Teachers' Association at a meeting on 15th September 1917. The resolution was that members of the Association could not also be members of an Irish political party. This was claimed, by the authors of the leaflet, to be an illegal resolution as the Association was supposed to be non-political and there were plans to create a new Catholic Teachers Association that would not exclude teachers on political grounds. The leaflet was highly critical of the conduct of the leaders of the Association. The leaders had not accepted the war bonus under the conditions set out by the Archdiocese and had requested that it be reconsidered. When the leaders were informed that the war bonus could not be reconsidered, they accepted the war bonus as originally offered. Other examples of alleged incompetency are listed in the leaflet and a meeting is called for the 23 of September in the City Halls, Glasgow to form the new proposed Association for Catholic teachers. GAA ED28/5/4.

There was a delay in the payment of the fourth instalment of the war bonus in 1818.⁶⁰ The Glasgow and West of Scotland Catholic Teachers' Association wrote to Archbishop Maguire and while they regretted hearing of his poor health, asked that the Rev. managers reconsider the payment of the fourth instalment of the war bonus. The solution to the financial challenges faced by the Catholic teachers would be forthcoming in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918.

The Implications of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918

After 1918 there was a marked improvement in conditions of service for teachers in the Catholic schools that had transferred and, of course, increased remuneration. The salaries for teachers in Catholic schools were paid by the local authorities and equal to those paid to teachers in non-denominational schools.⁶¹ This is outlined in Section 18 (3) (i) of the Act:

- (i) the existing staff of teachers shall be taken over by the education authority and shall from the date of transfer be placed upon the same scale of salaries as teachers of corresponding qualifications appointed to corresponding positions in other schools of the same authority.⁶²

The status of the teaching profession was elevated in the Catholic community.⁶³ This meant that teaching became more attractive to lay Catholics and, in time, they would start to assume more roles of responsibility in Catholic schools. Ross (1978) argues that teachers were already well regarded and:

Teachers received an even greater significance in the community and became the evident backbone of the growing middle-class, at least until after the Second World War.⁶⁴

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918 empowered the newly formed Scottish Education Department to set 'minimum national scales of salaries for teachers.'⁶⁵ The Department established these Minimum National Scales of Salaries for teachers in 1919.⁶⁶ The education authorities had to submit the salary schemes to the Department for approval and the salaries could not be below the Minimum National Scales. The lowest salary for a non-graduate male teacher who held the Teacher's General Certificate was £150 rising by £10 per annum to £250. The disparity between the level of remuneration to male and female teachers continued and the lowest salary for a non-graduate female teacher who held the Teacher's General Certificate was £130 rising by £5 per annum to £150 and then rising by £10 per annum to £200. The Minimum National Scale for male graduate teachers was £200 rising by £10 to £300 and then rising by £15 to £360. The Minimum National Scale for female graduate teachers was £180 rising by £10 to £300. The Minimum National Scale for those holding the Teacher's Special

⁶⁰ GAA ED28/1/6.

⁶¹ Teresa Gourlay, 'Catholic Schooling in Scotland since 1918', 120.

⁶² HM Stationary Office (1918) *The Education (Scotland) Act 1918*.

⁶³ Br. Kenneth F.M.S., 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in the making', 127.

⁶⁴ Anthony Ross OP, 'The Development of the Scottish Catholic Community 1878-1978', 43. Teresa Gourlay, 'Catholic Schooling in Scotland since 1918' (at 123) comments that the importance and status of the teaching profession in the Catholic community would wane by the 1960s as the members of the community desired 'higher social aspirations' for their children.

⁶⁵ Lindsay Paterson, 'The Significance of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918', *Scottish Affairs* 27 (4) (2018), 401-424 (at 403). *Education (Scotland) Act, 1918*. Section 6 (1) (c).

⁶⁶ Alexander Morgan, *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education* (Edinburgh, 1927), 225.

Certificate was £250 for men rising by £10 per annum to £310 and then rising by £15 to £400 and for women £200 rising by £10 per annum to £350. There was an issue in that these were minimum salary scales and they could be exceeded.⁶⁷ This meant that the wealthier education authorities were able to offer higher salaries and, by doing so, could attract the better qualified teachers. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1945 abolished the Minimum National salary scales and replaced them with standard scales.⁶⁸ These new standard scales were not to be exceeded. The ratio of teacher to pupil in Catholic schools improved after the 1918 Act and Treble notes that by 1930-1931, in Lanarkshire, the ratio of certificated teachers in non-denominational schools was 1 to 33.83, compared to 1 to 40.4 in the Catholic schools. This was a marked improvement on the figures from 1918-1919.⁶⁹

Concluding Remarks

This article has provided some insights into the working conditions of Catholic teachers in the Archdiocese of Glasgow in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. A number of interconnected themes have been highlighted including the class sizes, overcrowding and teacher-pupil ratio. Inadequate physical working conditions provided breeding grounds for sickness and the spread of infectious diseases exacerbated by the unsanitary living conditions experienced by the children in their homes and by poor diets. Sickness and disease led to non-attendance at school and disrupted the continuity of the learning process for the children. The poverty of some of the families meant that children were unable to attend school as they did not have the necessary footwear or clothing. After 1899, non-attendance became more problematic for school managers as grant money was paid according to attendance. One of the major themes was the issue of the fair remuneration for Catholic teachers and this would not be resolved until the 1918 Act. There was a significant pay differential between Catholic schools and Board schools. This pay differential applied to all levels of teaching, certificated, non-certificated and pupil-teacher, and despite the assurances from the hierarchy that assistance from the rates was being sought, Catholic teachers expressed their discontent and dissatisfaction with the salary scales. The salary scales would be resolved with the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918 and, in time, the teacher pupil ratio would improve for Catholic schools. The gendered issues about the pay differential between male and female teachers that were shared by the Catholic schools and the Board schools, however, would not be resolved in the immediate aftermath of the 1918 Act.

I would like to record my grateful thanks to Dr Mary McHugh, the archivist of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, for her invaluable help in locating sources.

⁶⁷ Henry Macdonald Knox, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Scottish Education 1696-1946*. (Edinburgh, 1953) 232.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 205.

⁶⁹ James H. Treble, 'The Working of the 1918 Education Act', 41.